

SCOTLAND'S STORY

51

**The Scottish
Parliament
comes home**

**Silver screen
Scots are tops**

**New industry
takes its place
on world stage**

**Countryside
under threat**

**Battleground
for Scotland's
languages**



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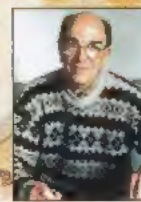


1987

The final passing of a bygone industrial era is evoked by George Wyllie's Straw Locomotive in Glasgow.

1988

The Claim of Right for Scotland brings cross-party co-operation on Devolution.



1992

The further cementing of the European Union heralds big changes for Scotland. Conservative victory at the General Election.

1995

Robert Carlyle stars in 'Trainspotting' as Mel Gibson's 'Braveheart' also hits the box office.



1996

Committed opponent of Devolution, Michael Forsyth, oversees the returns of the Stone of Destiny to Scotland.



1999

May: Labour and the Liberal Democrats form a coalition after the elections to the Scottish Parliament.



1997

Landslide Labour victory at the General Election. Scotland votes by a massive majority in favour of Devolution.



1999

July: Pop group Garbage assist in the celebrations for the new Scottish Parliament.



2000

May-June: The accountability of the Scottish Executive is tested by two major crises in Scottish education.



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In Part 52:
Your guide to
Scotland's Story



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COVER:

The place was Edinburgh, the time was now. After a 300 year absence the Scottish Parliament returned to the nation's Capital City, to a huge collective sigh of relief. What this means for the future remains unclear, but Scotland's Story continues to unfold. . .

The parliament returns home

After a century of persistent demands for it to happen, the Scottish Parliament was finally re-instated in the nation's capital city in July, 1999. The referendum on Devolution, which made the Parliament possible, witnessed a massive three-to-one majority in favour of the change – with a very high turnout at the polls.

Within the constitutional framework of the United Kingdom and the rapidly evolving European Union, the Scottish Parliament has authority over a number of key 'bread and butter' areas of Scottish life.

The Scottish Executive is accountable for key aspects of – amongst other things – education, health, social security, transport and economic development.

As the final chapters of Scotland's Story go to press in autumn 2000, the Executive has already had to face serious accusations of failure to fulfil its duties as an elected government, in respect of Secondary School education in this country.

But such is the magnitude of

the change wrought by the creation of this Scottish Parliament, not least the tricky relationship between the Executive and the UK government in Westminster which still reserves ultimate authority over a range of matters, that it is perhaps being a little unfair to expect things to work instantly in the new Scotland.

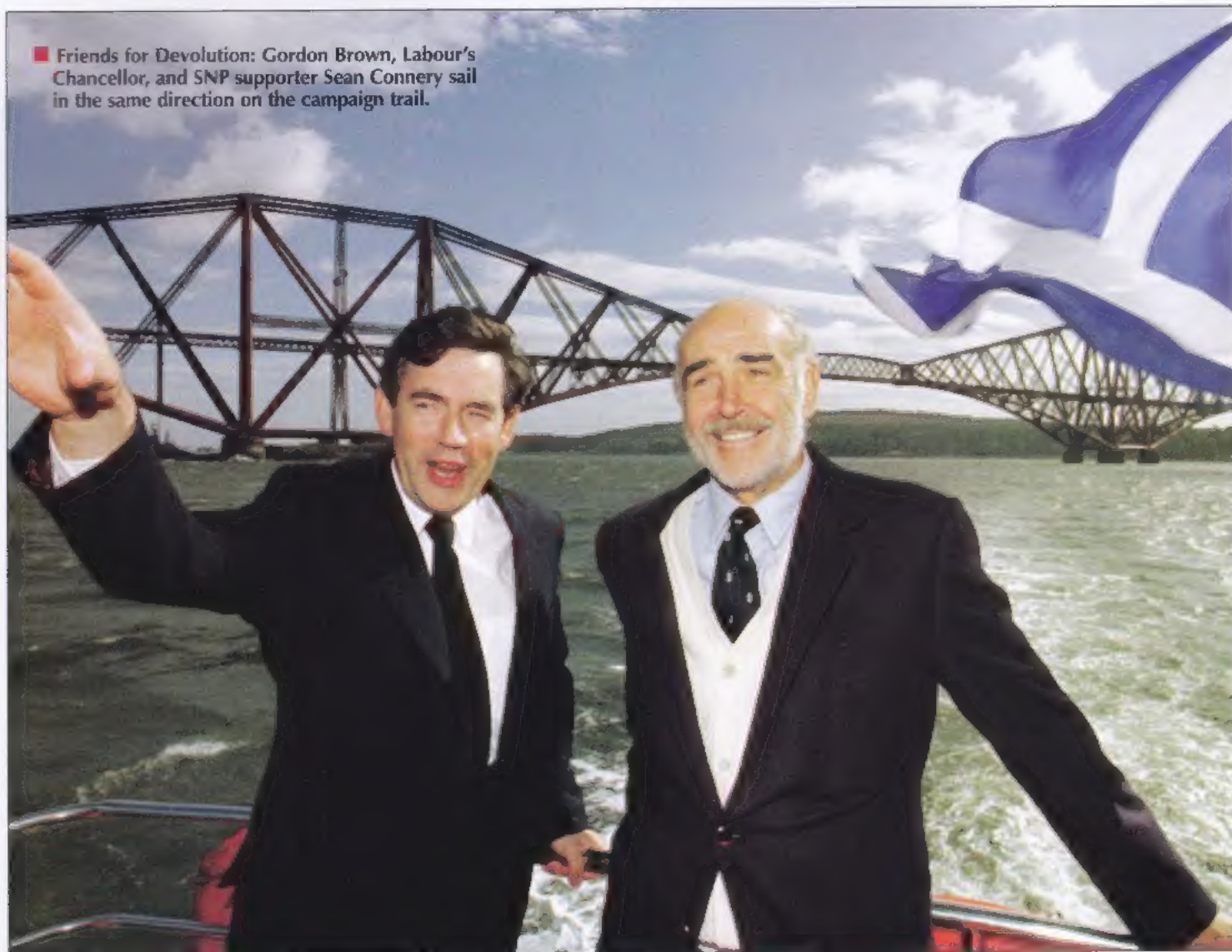
It will be some time before the Parliament, the Executive and indeed the Scottish electorate truly 'find their feet'.

A sign of Scotland's newfound maturity and self-confidence as a nation is surely the dazzling crop of film-makers, actors, novelists and musicians the country has produced in the last 20 years.

As a small nation of only five million, Scotland can confidently stand alongside its small European neighbours, such as Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Republic of Ireland, and justly celebrate the quality of its cultural achievements.

After 300 years the

■ Friends for Devolution: Gordon Brown, Labour's Chancellor, and SNP supporter Sean Connery sail in the same direction on the campaign trail.



The road towards devolution was never easy. But the scene changed as the Scottish Tories plunged into decline. The Claim of Right could no longer be denied. Suddenly the timing was perfect...

Things often get going in Scotland because of committees of men and women in grey suits. The Scottish Parliament is no exception. The starting point was the committee which produced A Claim of Right for Scotland in 1988, advocating a Constitutional Convention to agree a scheme of devolution.

That committee had been appointed by the cross-party Campaign for a Scottish Assembly shortly after the general election in 1987. Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives had lost 11 of their 21 seats in Scotland, and had been reduced to under one quarter of the vote – a consequence of the unpopularity of the Poll Tax. So Scotland again had a Conservative

government for which it had not voted. The CSA believed it was time to get the debate about a Scottish Parliament up and running effectively again after the doldrums of the early 1980s.

The Claim of Right really did catch the popular mood. It was well-written and forceful – the work mostly of a retired civil servant, Jim Ross, who had been responsible for the Devolution scheme under the Labour government in the 1970s.

His administrative background also ensured that the arguments would stand up to the kinds of sceptical scrutiny that the civil service tends to give to radical initiatives.

The significant breakthrough for the Devolution campaigners came when Donald Dewar publicly

committed Labour to the idea of a Convention in October, 1988. At that point, this meant that the scheme was supported by Labour, the SNP and the Liberal Democrats.

But acrimony wasn't long in coming. The veteran SNP politician, Jim Sillars, won the Govan by-election from Labour a month later, and the invective which then flew between the parties was so intense that it was no surprise when the SNP withdrew from the discussions about a Convention in early 1989.

That rift was not even partly healed for a decade, but it did leave Labour and the Liberal Democrats free to work out a scheme for Devolution without having to look over their shoulders all the time at the SNP. In any case, the Convention was a lot more than these two

Parliament returns

parties. There were also the small parties – amongst which the Greens and parts of the socialist Left eventually were to gain representation in the new Parliament.

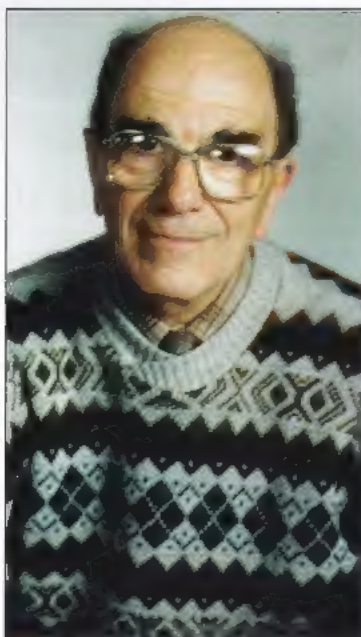
There were also representatives of civic Scotland – local government, voluntary organisations, women's groups, groups representing ethnic minorities, and so on.

This gave the workings of the Convention some real roots in Scottish life, and it meant that the scheme for a Scottish Parliament which it eventually produced was much more than the property of an individual party.

In the discussions between 1989 and the final report of the Convention in 1995, there was quick agreement on the powers a Parliament should have – roughly what it now does have, or legislative responsibility for what the old Scottish Office used to administer.

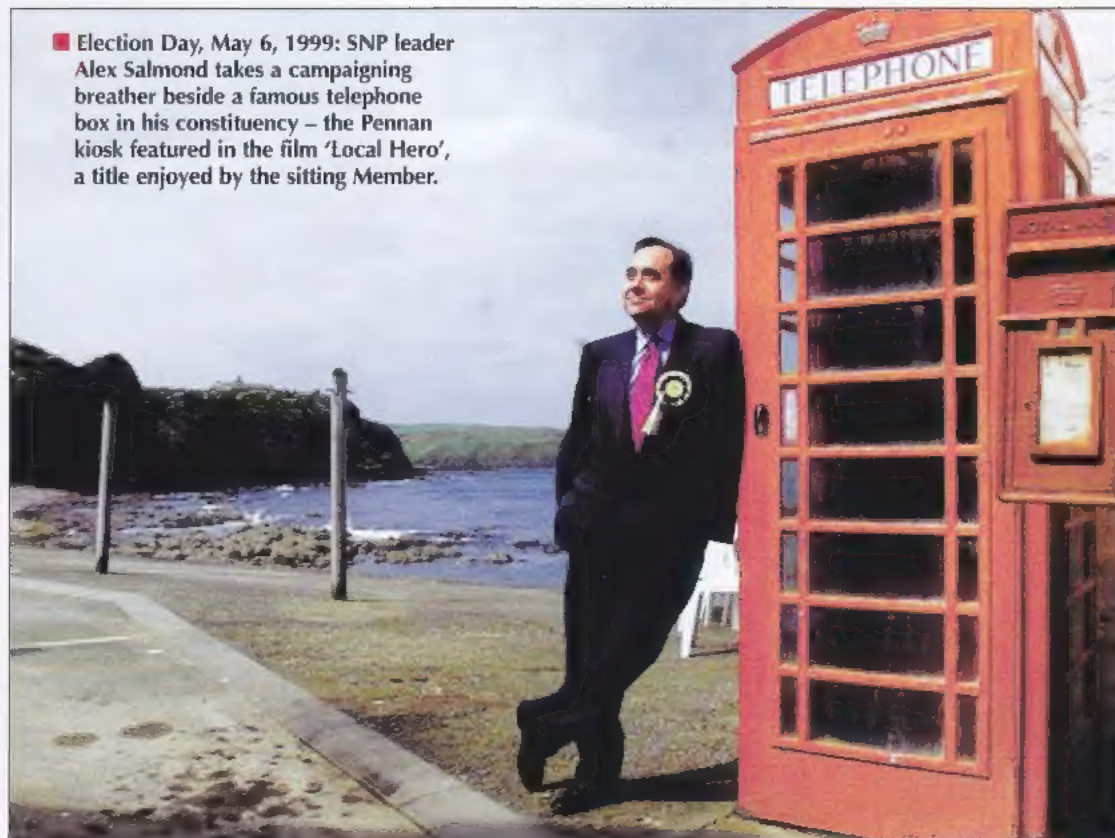
There was agreement that the Parliament should have some taxation powers, and that it should be elected by proportional representation, both of which have also been put in place. There were proposals that the Parliament should operate by consultation – also something that has come to pass.

And there was determined campaigning by women's organisations for an equal representation of men



■ Retired civil servant Jim Ross, a key architect of Devolution.

■ Election Day, May 6, 1999: SNP leader Alex Salmond takes a campaigning breather beside a famous telephone box in his constituency – the Pennan kiosk featured in the film 'Local Hero', a title enjoyed by the sitting Member.



and women in the Parliament, something which is not yet there but towards which has been taken a giant step.

So the Convention shaped the thinking that became the Scottish Parliament today. But it was powerless to put its ideas into practice, especially when the Conservatives won the 1992 general election and were not wiped out in Scotland as many had expected (although they remained a minority, with just 11 seats and still only a quarter of the vote).

The government tried to respond to Scottish dissatisfaction by tinkering with the ways in which Scottish business is dealt with at Westminster, and by bringing back to Scotland the Stone of Destiny on which Scottish monarchs had been crowned until 1296, when it was stolen by Edward I, King of England.

It wasn't Devolution that eventually brought the Conservative Government down in 1997, but a mixture of economic mismanagement, sleaze, and a Labour Party that had been 'modernised' by Tony Blair when he took over after John Smith's sudden death in 1994.

In Scotland, the Tories lost all

their seats, and sank to 18 per cent of the vote, their worst result ever.

Labour remained committed to devolution, not least because of the memory of Smith's history of support. But Blair had decided that there would have to be a referendum before a Parliament could be set up, asking both about the principle of having a Parliament and about whether the Parliament should have the power to vary tax.

Donald Dewar oversaw the referendum as the new Secretary of State for Scotland. His proposals for a Parliament were skilfully drafted to bring the SNP back on board during the referendum campaign.

The only opponents then were the demoralised Tories, some business people, and an energetic group of younger right-wingers around Brian Monteith, who was eventually to emerge as the dynamic education spokesman for his party in the Parliament which he had campaigned against.

The result was decisive. The very high turnout returned a three-to-one majority in favour of a Parliament, and a two-to-one majority for the tax powers. That settled the argument once and for all.

Within a few weeks, former opponents had come to accept that a Parliament was bound to be set up, and even the Tories began to look forward to using the proportional electoral system to begin to re-establish themselves.

Alongside this legislative process leading to the Scotland Act, 1998 – which allowed the Parliament to be established – there was another cross-party committee chaired by Henry McLeish, later to be a Minister in the Parliament.

Its role was to suggest ways of making the new body as responsive to the public as possible.

This time all the large parties were present, along with several independent voices from civic Scotland.

The Parliament was elected on May 6, 1999. The proportional system ensured that no party had an overall majority of the 129 seats. Labour had 56, the SNP 35, the Tories 18, the Liberal Democrats 17, the Scottish Socialists 1 and the Greens 1.

A seat was won by Dennis Canavan, standing as an independent when Labour refused to select him for the seat he had long held for the

► party at Westminster. He gained more than half of the vote in Falkirk West, humiliating the Labour candidate. So Labour had to form a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats.

Equally significant to this party battle was the high proportion of women – 37 per cent of all seats, more than double the proportion among MPs at Westminster.

But in other respects, the Parliament was unrepresentative of Scotland. It contained no-one from Scotland's minority ethnic groups – no Asians or Chinese.

Its members tended to have university degrees and to be quite well off. And, although younger than their Westminster counterparts, they were on average older than the people they represent.

Nevertheless, the Parliament was opened on July 1, 1999 amidst great enthusiasm and optimism. Since then, it has had a stormy ride.

The coalition government's proposals for legislation have been criticised as timid.

The issue on which the Liberal Democrats had insisted before agreeing to a coalition – ending tuition fees paid by university students – did produce a well-argued report from a special committee of enquiry, and did lead to the abolition of fees and the partial restoration of student grants. But these grants were widely regarded as not generous enough.

There was simmering public discontent over the costs of the proposed new building for the Parliament in Edinburgh, which is to

be situated at Holyrood. But the most spectacular controversy in the Parliament's first year, as it took up business in its temporary home on Edinburgh's Mound, was a proposal to repeal a Conservative law that banned local authorities (and hence their schools) from 'promoting' homosexuality as a valid type of family.

Eventually this was passed, but in the face of public opposition in opinion polls (even though other polls also showed widespread tolerance of homosexuality).

The Parliament is bound to continue to face controversies as intense as that, because one thing it has done is bring politics closer to the people.

Its more consultative committees and less formal style than Westminster really have made people feel that politics have been brought home.

So, when a crisis arose over the running of the school exams in August, 2000, the Parliament's Education Committee became responsible for conducting an enquiry and making recommendations so that the mess would not happen again.

That shows that the Parliament has become the centre of Scottish political life – if only because Scots have vested enormous hopes in it.

What about the future? In the background there continues to be pressure for the Parliament to have more powers – especially over social security and taxation.

The Parliament with its present remit cannot redistribute wealth



■ Senior Conservative Michael Forsyth had his own view of Devolution.

from the rich to the poor, and yet people in Scotland are much keener on that than the English.

How these extended powers could come is not yet clear. It could be when a Tory government is elected at Westminster, forcing the Scottish Labour Party to accept that Scottish social reform requires the

power to vary taxes significantly. It could be because the Tories themselves give the Parliament taxation powers so as to make it more responsible for its own spending.

And it could well come through an SNP victory in the elections to the Scottish Parliament. But, while that would certainly signal the start of a serious campaign for strengthened powers, it would not necessarily show that Scotland was moving towards independence.

In fact, independence is changing its meaning because of the European Union. Most of the powers that the Scottish Parliament does not have will probably drift upwards to the EU level anyway in a decade or so – foreign affairs, defence, many aspects of financial policy.

So a transfer to the Scottish Parliament of powers over social security and some aspects of taxation would, in due course, make it as strong as any other national parliament in Europe, whether or not it was formally described as 'independent' ●



■ First Minister Donald Dewar is flanked by Scottish Cabinet colleagues Henry McLeish and Wendy Alexander.

Silver screen Scots talk good business



■ **Local Hero** cemented Bill Forsyth's reputation as the most prominent Scottish and British film-maker of the early 1980s. The picture from the movie, depicting the coming of the oil tycoons to Scotland, shows (l to r): Dennis Lawson, Peter Capaldi, Burt Lancaster and Peter Riegert.

It all happened quickly, but there should be no surprise that Scottish films have broken through to take a place on the international movie scene

In many regards, the success of Scottish film-makers and films on the British and international stages during the 1990s has been remarkable. 'Shallow Grave' (1993) and 'Trainspotting' (1995) were two of the most financially and critically-successful commercial British films of the decade.

A talented generation of Scottish film directors emerged: Gillies MacKinnon ('Small Faces', 1995), Lynne Ramsay ('Ratcatcher', 1999) and Peter Mullan ('Orphans', 1998) garnered major awards at the Cannes, Venice and Edinburgh film festivals.

Scottish actors such as Robert Carlyle and Ewan MacGregor, weaned

on increasing amounts of film work available in Scotland, gained the screen experience to become major film stars, the latter taking a lead role in the science fiction epic 'Star Wars' directed by George Lucas.

Movies used to be something other people did to Scotland (not least in the sense of often being unspeakably bad acts unwarranted by their innocent victim); now Scotland and Scottish artists find themselves active participants in the film industry both at home and in Hollywood.

How did such a remarkable reversal of cinematic fortune take place?

The initial answer is Bill Forsyth. Forsyth had been involved in film

production since the age of 17, first for Glasgow documentary maker Stanley Russell, then setting up his own documentary company Tree Films in 1971. His first feature, 'That Sinking Feeling' (1979), centred around unemployed Glasgow teenagers staging an elaborate heist at a sink factory.

The film owed its origin to Forsyth's desire to gain experience working with actors – the cast were from the Glasgow Youth Theatre – and two fruitless years trying to gain funding from the British Film Institute for the script for his subsequent feature, 'Gregory's Girl' (1980).

Forsyth described it as a "fairy-tale" ▶

'Small budgets are the norm unless you can hack it with a US major - and that's murder'

► for the unemployed", while paradoxically stressing its ties to harsh urban reality:

"Most of the boys there had broken into somewhere or other in the past. There's a plumber's warehouse round the corner from the community centre, and it all fell into place."

'Gregory's Girl' and 'Local Hero' (1982) cemented his reputation as the most prominent British film-maker of the early 1980s. The 'fairytale' tag, however, came to dog Forsyth.

Critics accused him of peddling outdated, whimsical stereotypes of canny Scots eccentrics ignoring or defeating the pressures of modern civilisation, secure in their cosy rural and urban arcadias.

The director's response, 'Comfort and Joy' (1984), was his most sombre and autobiographical feature to date. Set against the backdrop of Glasgow's Ice Cream Wars, early morning DJ Dickie Bird (Bill Paterson) agonises over the worth of light entertainers in a violent world and longs to be regarded as a serious artist by his peers. It was not difficult to see Dickie as a fictional surrogate for his creator.

Drawn by the lure of Hollywood, Forsyth would not film again in Scotland until 1998 with 'Gregory's 2 Girls', a sequel to his most fondly-



■ Gillies MacKinnon was the director of *Small Faces*, which depicts Glasgow gang warfare in the 1960s.

remembered work which finds Gregory (John Gordon Sinclair) teaching English at the Cumbernauld comprehensive he was a pupil at 20 years before.

While it may often have seemed that Bill Forsyth simply was the Scottish film industry during the 1980s, this was not the case.

Charlie Gormley, also a 1970s documentarist, wrote and directed two features, 'Living Apart Together' (1983) and 'Heavenly Pursuits' (1986). These films, and others like Cary Parker's 'The Girl In The Picture' (1985), were often unfairly dismissed as assembly line products of a patented

'Forsythian' mode of gentle Scottish comedy. Gormley, however, pinpointed the attractiveness of comedy for Scottish film-makers in the 1980s: "Bill and I decided on comedy for a very simple reason - it was cheap. It's a cheaper way of getting production value than any other".

While potential sources and amounts of film funding multiplied during the 1990s, directors in previous years had virtually no alternative to the small budgets dispensed by television broadcasters, most notably Channel 4.

As Gormley explained: "It is a slightly uncomfortable partnership,

but it's the only partnership available to you unless you can hack it with an American major, and that's murder."

Under these and similar auspices, often distinguished work was produced - 'A Sense of Freedom' (John Mackenzie, 1981) bases itself on the writings of Jimmy Boyle; 'Ill Fares The Land' (Bill Bryden, 1983) narrates the traumatic evacuation of the St Kilda islands in 1931; 'Venus Peter' (Ian Sellar, 1989) adapts Christopher Rush's autobiographical fiction about Fife fishermen; 'Blue Black Permanent' (Margaret Tait, 1992) remarkably was its septuagenarian director's feature-length debut after a lifetime of short film-making.

Hopefully, it detracts nothing from the achievement of these and other directors to point out that 1990's Scottish cinema has certainly overshadowed earlier work in terms of commercial success and international visibility.

Central to these developments are John Hodge (writer), Andrew MacDonald (producer), Danny Boyle (director), whose auspicious debut, 'Shallow Grave' (1993), was the most commercially-successful British film of that year.

A pitch-black comedy-thriller about three amoral Edinburgh flatmates who discover a corpse and a large bag of money in their spare bedroom, 'Shallow Grave' marked an abrupt shift in the kind of film commonly produced in Scotland, and the influences cited by Scottish film-makers.

Previously, Scots had looked to the



■ Director Lynne Ramsay picked up awards for 'Ratcatcher', set during the 'Winter of Discontent' in Glasgow.



■ Robert Carlyle, star of *Trainspotting*, *Carla's Song*, *The World Is Not Enough* and TV's *Hamish Macbeth*, receives a BAFTA in April 1998.

continent for inspiration. Director Mike Radford ('Another Time, Another Place', 1983) cited Jean-Luc Godard and Bernardo Bertolucci as idols; Bill Forsyth reminisced about adolescent viewings of Francois Truffaut and Jean Renoir classics at the Glasgow Film Theatre; Ian Sellar ('Venus Peter', 1989, 'Prague', 1992) worked as an assistant on Bill Douglas's seminal 'My Childhood' trilogy (1972-78). Scotland's one indubitably major contribution to European Art Cinema.

The makers of 'Shallow Grave', however, unabashedly looked west to Hollywood, with its genre-driven narrative thrills and lucrative financial rewards, for their model.

Director Boyle opined: "That's healthy, a commercial film that works for an audience, something that values an audience and delivers. If you want to make films that refund the money, you have to get a boy and his girlfriend to the cinema on a Friday night."

The team pursued the same approach with their next film, an adaptation of Irvine Welsh's 'Trainspotting' (1995), a surreal exposé of Edinburgh heroin culture in the mid-1980s. The bodyswerve away

from hand-wringing 'gritty' realism and political comment continued apace, Boyle arguing that: "A junkie's life is eroding and debilitating, constantly descending... nobody will go and see that film."

'Trainspotting' was as much a marketing event as a movie, with its lucrative soundtrack, video and poster merchandising tie-ins.

In fairness, however, original author Welsh applauded the film-makers' decision to privilege commercial success over social comment: "I think I would have been a wee bit despondent if they had made it in the Ken Loach fashion. I would have been disappointed if it had been a kind of worthy piece of social realism."

Loach himself was a prominent figure on the Scottish film scene in the latter half of the 1990s, working in Glasgow on 'Carla's Song' (1996) and 'My Name is Joe' (1998). Both films were written by Glasgow lawyer and former human rights worker Paul Laverty; both were imbued with a commitment to the social realism and socialist politics becoming rapidly unfashionable in Scottish film circles.

It is a measure of Scottish film-makers' achievements in the last two

'There she was on Sauchiehall Street, seen from a restaurant at midnight - and she'd never acted in her life'

decades that one can narrate a tale of international prestige and collective success without once mentioning 'Braveheart' (1995), Mel Gibson's dubious historical farrago on the life and times of William Wallace.

While the image of Gibson baying "Freedom!" whilst daubed in blue facepaint is perhaps the dominant one in many minds when connecting 'Scotland' and 'film', the Scottish industry should perhaps not be too quick to look to Hollywood's interest as the main arbiter of its perceived strength or future direction.

It might have been gratifying, disorientating and/or amusing to bump into Gillian Anderson on Glasgow's Sauchiehall Street during the shooting of Edith Wharton's novel, 'House of Mirth', or mingle with Robert Duvall on the terraces of Palmerston Park, Dumfries, during the filming of 'A Shot At Glory' last year, but it is good to remember that the freshness and vitality of many Scottish films over the last 20 years derived precisely from their makers' distance from the bright lights and filthy lucre of Los Angeles and London.

John Hodge testifies to the "beneficial effects of ignorance" whilst writing 'Shallow Grave' (his first attempt at a film script); John Byrne describes casting the female lead in the film adaptation of his 'The Slab Boys' (1997) in markedly unconventional terms: "There she was, at the 11th hour, strolling along Sauchiehall Street at midnight, spotted by Simon Relp (the film's producer) through a restaurant window while he and I gorged ourselves on pizza."

"She had never acted in her life before... yahoo!"

Entering a new decade with the firmest financial and industrial base ever will prove a mixed blessing if spontaneity and unconventionality - even when the result of ignorance or penury - are wholly lost by a film-making community increasingly familiar with commercial success but also the formulaic approach to making movies on which such success is often dependent. ●

TIMELINE

1988

The Claim of Right for Scotland advocates a Constitutional Convention to agree a scheme of devolution.

1990

Britain joins the Gulf War. It goes on to participate in further conflicts in the Gulf and the Balkans later in the decade.

1992

Britain signs up to the Maastricht Treaty. Conservatives under John Major win the General Election.

1994

Tony Blair becomes leader of the Labour Party after the sudden death of John Smith. Blair begins New Labour reform of the party.

1995

Success of movies 'Trainspotting' and 'Braveheart' put Scotland on the international map.

1997

Labour wins a landslide General Election victory. Conservatives are wiped-out in Scotland.

1998

'Good Friday' Agreement is signed in Northern Ireland.

1999

May: The Scottish Parliament is elected by PR. Labour forms a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats.

July: Parliament is reconvened in Edinburgh as the UK devolves a measure of state power back to Scotland.

2000

May: Scottish Executive embroiled in debacle over the 'promotion' of homosexuality in Schools.

August: School exams chaos sparks row over accountability of the Scottish Executive.

Scottish women on



■ Cecile Walton's 1921 painting, *Romance*, is a magnificently self-assured feminine view of herself as a mother with her new-born child.

The prospect of women's emancipation aroused mixed feelings among Scots during the inter-war period, appearing as enlightened or threatening, depending on particular attitudes. In 1928, when the Parliamentary vote was extended to females aged 21 and over, there were fears about undue influence because of the strength of their numbers, with 153,000 more women than men on the new Scottish electoral roll.

Reflecting the unease of elites about the trend towards egalitarianism, one Glasgow newspaper even suggested that "the enfranchisement of young domestic servants may in some degree modify the balance of parties in constituencies which are predominantly anti-Socialist".

The new generation, it was implied, identified with the Labour Party, and the politicisation of women could thus have a disturbing impact on the prevailing power structure.

This seemed to be strikingly

The struggle for emancipation and equal rights has been frustrating. But the new generation of Scottish women politicians may well speed things along

borne out when Scotland's first female Labour MP, Jennie Lee, was elected in the North Lanark by-election early in 1929.

Aged only 24, Lee's roots were in the mining community of Cowdenbeath. However, as a graduate of Edinburgh University, she also represented the aspirations of a growing number of working-class women to take full advantage of educational opportunities and pursue a high-profile career.

For all her passion and charisma, Lee did not lead the vanguard of women political activists in Scotland.

Indeed, she consciously distanced herself from feminist issues, identifying these as a diversion from

the class-struggle. More generally, the reality of the inter-war Labour Party's radicalism was questionable, at least as far as women were concerned.

Compared with arrangements south of the Border, there were few women's sections in Scottish Labour.

The influence of the male-dominated trade unions, especially in the depressed 1930s, meant that campaigning priorities tended to be directed towards unemployment and the economy.

There were consequently few Labour women in local government, where issues like education, housing and social welfare might have attracted them.

Ironically, the Unionist Party (as

the Conservatives were known in Scotland) was far better organised and assiduously wooed the female vote.

Unionist women, it was claimed, were practical and purposeful, 'less inclined to star-gaze and loaf about with Utopian dreams'.

The best-known activist was the aristocratic Katherine Atholl, who may have been ambiguous in her attitude to feminism, but became one of Scotland's most prominent (if controversial) politicians during the 1930s.

Another Unionist role model was Margaret Kidd, who in 1923 was the first woman to be admitted to the Faculty of Advocates. Kidd acknowledged the prejudice she had encountered in this hitherto male domain, and was forthright about the need for women to enter the professions. She also campaigned for legislation that would benefit women, notably reform of the notoriously-restricted divorce laws.

The Divorce (Scotland) Act of

the road to equality

Women are now taking decisions in government – making-up 37 per cent of MSPs in the new Scottish Parliament

1938 eventually eased the process of ending unhappy marriages and further changes in 1976 considerably simplified procedures. However, the debate over marriage, the family and maternal responsibility was often bitterly contentious.

Birth control was a subject treated with extreme caution by the main political parties, despite growing public demand for contraceptive advice from the 1920s.

There was moral concern about disconnecting procreation from sexual activity and encouraging 'unnatural' interference in the fertility cycle.

Religious leaders were particularly outspoken, above all in the Roman Catholic Church.

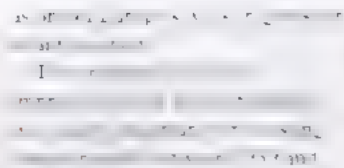
Labour politicians became wary of alienating their substantial body of Catholic voters, acutely conscious of the pressure that could be exerted on electoral candidates who openly held libertarian views.

It was a debate that remained relevant throughout the century, especially after the 1967 Abortion Act was steered through Parliament by Scottish Liberal MP David Steel.

The experience of the Second World War further highlighted the vexed question of family values in Scotland. The stressful impact of economic depression was seen as having undermined domestic relationships, with a particularly deleterious effect on the development of the young.

The wartime evacuation of urban children to 'safe' rural areas exposed the conditions that many lived in, and the struggle of women to maintain family stability.

Accordingly, an ambitious Government programme of welfare reform was steadily consolidated as the war progressed, fuelled by the identification of the west of Scotland



As in the First World War, women were encouraged to work on munitions and played a key role in the armed services and civil defence. The incorporation of married women into the war effort gave them recognition in the workplace that had previously been grudging.

Correspondingly, there was a surge in female trade union membership. Although not always successful, organised strike action, as in the Hillington Rolls Royce aero engine factory during 1943, alerted the Government to women's grievances, to the extent that a Royal Commission on Equal Pay was inaugurated one year later.

The war was crucial for opening out work opportunities for women in Scotland, and far more remained in the labour market after 1945 than in 1918. Significantly, there was a growing trend for women to work in part-time occupations.

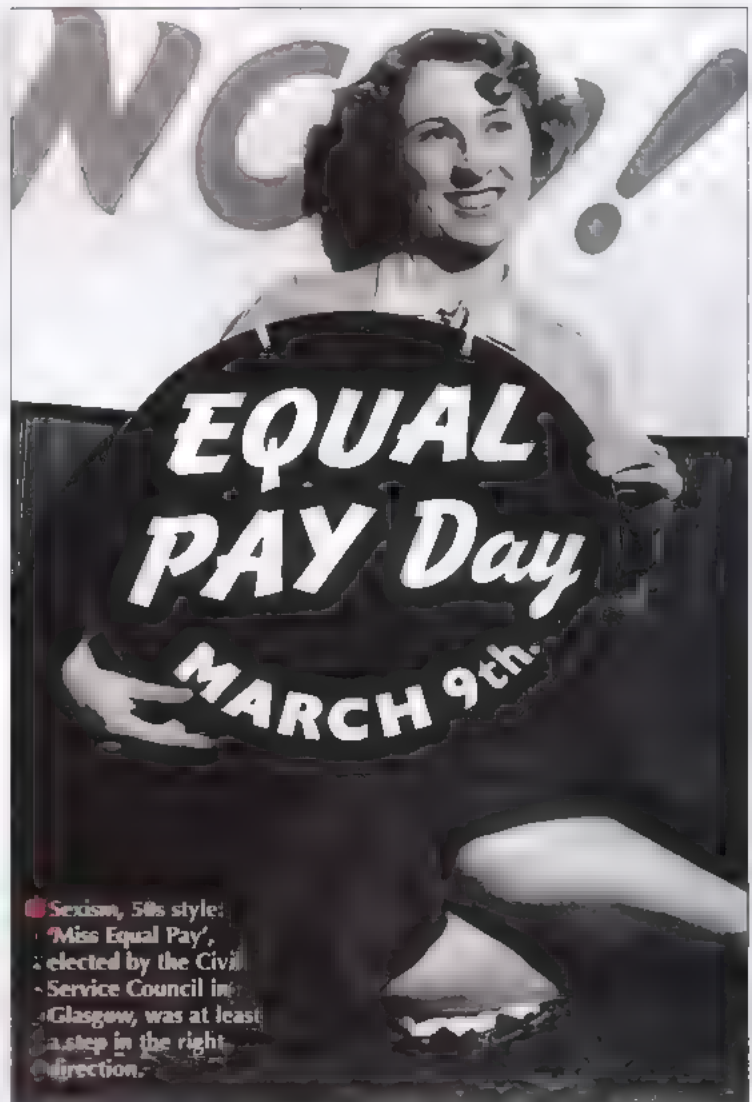
Although wartime promises of equal pay were slow to materialise, the barriers gradually eroded.

Eventually in the 1970s the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts created a formal mechanism for eliminating gender inequality in the workplace.

There was a profound paradox in the Government's commitment to social justice and equality, which was not reflected in the composition of the House of Commons. In 1979, for example, only 19 per cent of MPs were women. By 1997, the figure had risen to 22 per cent. In the Scottish Parliament, the proportion of women MSPs was 37 per cent.

The position was similar in the Government. In 1960, Jean Roberts breached a notable male citadel by becoming the first female Lord Provost of Glasgow, but it was not until 1988 that Eleanor McLaughlin achieved similar status in Edinburgh.

The 1960s and the first stirring of the women's liberation movement did, however, herald important



● Sexism, 50s style:
● 'Miss Equal Pay',
● elected by the Civil
● Service Council in
● Glasgow, was at least
● a step in the right
● direction.

changes in Scotland. Although not reflected in the time, the emergence of the constitutional debate was symbolised in 1967 by the sensational return of Winifred Ewing to the Scottish Nationalists in the Hamilton by-election.

Part of Ewing's political appeal was her rarity as a woman activist, even if newspapers could not resist referring to her as 'a blonde mother of three'.

As the Home Rule campaign intensified during the final decades of the 20th century, women became increasingly concerned about their under-representation in the political process.

Frustration was compounded by the policies of the Thatcher era of the 1980s, called after a woman Prime Minister, but perceived as retrogressive in promoting equal rights. In 1991 the Women's Claim

of Right Group published a range of views on the gender deficit, bluntly concluding that 'The macho tendency is still alive and kicking in Scottish politics'. The Group went on to emphasise that proposals for a future Scottish Parliament should be more inclusive.

This consciousness-raising process seemed to bear fruit in the first election to the newly-created Parliament in May, 1999. A total of 48 women MSPs were returned, some 37 per cent of representatives.

Although short of parity with male MSPs, this was a considerable advance on previous Westminster figures, and well beyond the 25-30 per cent thought necessary for females to make a significant impact on decision-making.

It remains to be seen how successful the new generation of Scottish women politicians will be. ●

Explosive creativity in every direction



■ Ian Hamilton Finlay's artistic masterpiece, the garden of Little Sparta at Dunsyre, Lanarkshire, harks back to the self-discipline of ancient Sparta.

The challenge to the artist presented in the quickening pulse of life, in a volatile world with shackles constantly loosened, new techniques, new materials and new thought inevitably is reflected in art. Never has it been more exciting

Scottish art in the 20th century shared in the diversity of European art as a whole. This period, characterised by rapid technical innovation, global warfare and ideological pluralism, is mirrored in art.

In the early years of the century Charles Rennie Mackintosh and his colleagues in Glasgow helped to create the new ethos of modernist design in Europe, not least through close connections with Viennese artists and designers. At the same time Edinburgh artists made close links with the Paris of Matisse and Picasso, and these links were to continue as significant to the history of Scottish artists as art. It has been contacts to Rome in earlier centuries.

Four of these Paris-orientated

As Mackintosh Patrick painted his traditional landscapes in Dundee, so D Y Cameron was becoming analytical

artists – Fergusson, Peploe, Hunter, and Cadell – were in due course called 'the Scottish Colourists' because of their response to the vivid colour experiments in France. Such colourism became a strong feature of Scottish painting throughout the century, influencing later painters like Angus Reidpath, William Gillies, John Houston and Elizabeth Blackadder, among others.

Among these artists impressed by the ideas of the European Avant Garde movement, and himself prepared to work in a style influenced by the Italian Futurists, was Stanley Cursiter, later to be a

key advocate of a Gallery of Modern Art for Scotland.

More conservative, but equally interesting, were artists who stuck to the precepts of the Arts and Crafts Movement of the previous century. In the 1920s a late-flowering of this movement can be found in the construction and decoration of the Scottish National War Memorial at the summit of Edinburgh's Castle rock. This remarkable building is a moving statement of national mourning.

It was designed by Robert Lorimer and includes a striking scheme of stained glass by Douglas

George Wyllie's straw locomotive dangling from the Finnieston Crane was an evocation

Strachan, along with sculpted decoration by Alice and Morris Meredith Williams and Alexander Carrick, among others

In Edinburgh during the First World War itself, the young Dorothy Johnstone was developing as a wonderful portrait painter, and the inter-war period saw the remarkable achievement in the same art of James Cowie in Glasgow

Cowie was one of a number of artists who re-appropriated the work of northern-European renaissance artists for the purposes of the 20th century. Another example of this is James Mackintosh Patrick in Dundee, whose landscapes in the 1930s, such as his views of Traquair House, bring to mind the art of Peter Bruegel

At the same time they share with Cowie an almost surreal quality. In these same years DY Cameron was continuing to take a more analytical, almost geological approach to the land, as in his 'Wilds of Assynt'.

More experimental were two artists greatly admired by the poet Hugh MacDiarmid, William McCance and William Johnstone, the former influenced by Wyndham Lewis's vorticism in London, produced landscapes which draw also on cubism and futurism

The latter studied in Paris and became familiar with the formal and psychological explorations of surrealism, which he absorbed into his own works such as 'A Point in Time' from the late 1920s

Artists studying during this Second World War included the marvellous interpreter of the sea, Joan Eardley whose work along with Gillies, Repath and MacTaggart (grandson of the earlier artist of the same name) helped to redefine understanding of the Scottish landscape in the post war period

The disruptions of the Second World War fragmented European connections and encouraged links with America, New York becoming important along with Paris

The strongly international impulse continues through the work of major artists who were born in the 1920s. These include Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull, Ian



■ Both Glasgow's industrial and imperial past were symbolised in George Wyllie's straw locomotive.

Hamilton Finlay and Alan Davie. All have a powerful and informed appreciation of other art traditions and periods of history

Finlay and Paolozzi, in particular, have explored classical themes in their work. Davie has made conscious reference to early Celtic material, while at the same time strongly influenced by American abstract expressionism

It is not possible to mention all those artists who might deserve it, but in the later years of the century

a significant number of major public commissions have increased public awareness of Scottish art

Notable here was George Wyllie's 'Straw Locomotive' from 1987, which was hung from the Finnieston Crane in Glasgow, evoking both the industrial and imperial past and the loss of heavy industry from the Clyde

In the same decade a more illustrative approach to political issues was taken by figurative artists in Glasgow, among them Ken Currie

and Peter Howson. During the same period Kate Whiteford united symbols of Scotland's earlier history, both classical and Celtic, on Calton Hill in Edinburgh

The 1990s saw a continuation of outstanding public work, not least the commissioning of Will Maclean by communities in Lewis to memorialise the land struggles of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These monuments are all the more interesting for addressing problems of land-use of current concern

Dramatic changes



■ Open and shut case: a no-win Highland farmer closes his gate on the traditions of the old days or opens it to an ominous future.

The marriage of tradition and innovation of old merging into new is a phenomenon which touches most generations. Life seldom stands still for very long, for small changes, barely perceptible at the time, can re-shape local societies in major ways.

The reverse can also be true. Revolutionary developments can often be underpinned with the stability which comes with the maintenance of tradition.

For the people of the rural parts of Lowland Scotland, the 20th century was a time of spectacular change, certainly, but for the first half of it at least the thread of continuity with the old ways was not severed completely.

Change had certainly been a constant companion to the country dweller since the late 18th century but the cumulative effects of rural de-population, housing development and re-shaped social attitudes reached their zenith in the decade or

Shifting economic climates, revolutions in technology, bureaucratic mountains threaten a way of life and even the face of the countryside

so following the Second World War. As with many aspects of 20th century life, these changes were largely technology-led.

Mechanisation of agriculture, production had, of course, been ongoing for well over a century by the time the first tractors were appearing on the Scottish land shortly after the Great War.

The harvesting process, especially reaping and threshing, had become increasingly mechanised during the 19th century as improvements were made to Andrew Meikle's threshing machine, first produced in 1786, and to Patrick Bell's mechanical reaper.

To these illustrious names must be added that of the Ulsterman Harry Ferguson, whose development in the 1930s of the three-point linkage system at the rear of the tractor

rendered it infinitely more useful to the farmer, capturing the full potential of this machine. Up to that point it had been of fairly limited use.

Ferguson's tractors played an important part in this technological farming revolution, but it was surely the North American idea of the combine harvester which finally slammed the door in the face of traditional farming life.

Reapers and binders had succeeded in taking a good deal of the intensity out of field labour as sickles, scythes and flails were laid aside, but if the tractor rendered the working horse a redundant curiosity, the combine did likewise for the working man and woman.

The result of this culmination of technological evolution was what might be described as the

'homogenisation' of the country way of living. The complex fabric of rural society was untangled and cast aside.

Gone was much of the specialisation of the workforce - the self-proclaimed 'kings among labourers', the ploughmen, graded in a strict hierarchy which even extended to the order in which they would leave the stable in the morning. Gone were a substantial proportion of the smiths, wheelwrights, millwrights, and seasonal labourers who became largely redundant as the century reached its mid-point.

Gone were the chaulmers and bothies - the latter the great symbol of male farm servant identity and the incubator of their cultural inventiveness. Rural de-population was the inevitable consequence of all this, and contributed to the continuing trend towards the urbanisation of the Scottish people which had looked in so spectacularly during the previous century.

While many people left the farm,

for life on the land

■ Ferguson tractor power on an Aberdeenshire farm that once took three Clydesdale horses to pull the binder.



left the countryside and in thousands of cases, left the country altogether for a new life overseas – what those who remained on the land:

Economically, those whose livelihoods depended on the soil remained highly susceptible to the vagaries of the wider economic climate. Much the same pattern developed in the first couple of decades of the 20th century as had been witnessed during the early part of the 19th.

A large-scale war brought a temporary buoyancy to the markets which then plunged into depression on the declaration of peace. This pattern of peak and trough was to be repeated several times through the century, although it was clear during the Second World War that the lessons of history had been learned and measures were put in place to build a more sustainable future for agricultural production.

These included annual price reviews, the replacement of six

monthly contracts with the weekly wage and, at long last, significant improvements in rural housing (the positive side of the demise of the bothy culture).

With Britain's entry into the EEC in 1973, yet another new era in countryside economic politics.

More than ever before, the temporary farm approached its end of view – full, into the pan-European market framework forced to embrace the culture of long-term financial investment. Taxation sensitive accounting grants set aside (where farmers are paid not to grow something), full registration and monitoring of stock from birth-to-slaughterhouse, and a host of other related bureaucratic procedures which make it impossible to approach agricultural production from anything other than a 'modern' stance.

Food safety concerns, culminating,

of course, in the BSE crisis and the genetically modified crops debate, suggest that the precarious position of Scottish farming is unlikely to be made any more secure within the foreseeable future, casting yet more doubts on the long-term sustainability of country living.

Through all this, however, prosperity has been no stranger to the Lowland Scottish farming stock. The collapse of land values following the Great War encouraged many standing tenants to buy their farms from debt-ridden estate owners, effectively creating a new class of upwardly mobile owner-occupiers or gentlemen farmers who quite literally reaped the benefits in the years to come.

Conditions for their workers were improved, too, with shorter hours, the Saturday half-day and the benefits of unionisation, combining with the housing improvements to make a farm labouring career, when available, a

'I didnae like the tractors. On a cauld, windy day it is the worst job on earth'

rather more attractive proposition than seemed likely at the outset of the century.

For some, though, the replacement of the horse by the tractor took the heart out of the job.

When asked why he left farming, one ploughman was in no doubt: 'I didnae like the tractors. Simple as that. I've ploughed wi' them, drilled wi' them, did everything. But sittin' on a tractor on a cauld windy day, it is the worst job on earth.'

Yet 40 years after leaving, without a hint of hesitation, he could still rattle off the names of the 20 Clydesdale horses he had worked with during his ploughing days. Cherished, too, were the secrets of horsemanship he retained, learned from his forebears and once used day-in and day-out in the fields of lowland Perthshire.

The skills required of a 'guid-haundit' worker in pre-combine days were still fresh in his mind, and he was able to describe in meticulous detail all the tasks required in every stage of the production process.

Along with many others of his generation, he recalled with pleasure the communal spirit of farming life, in which neighbours would come together to help each other out when the travelling threshing mill paid a visit, or in the form of the lovedarg, a charitable gathering of neighbours to help plough the land of a friend in need, or to welcome a new tenant into the area.

Of course, romantic memories of former days are by no means confined to farming folk, for tapping into the thoughts of old miners, shipbuilders or fishermen reveals much the same sense of regret for the loss of an entire way of life.

For many rural dwellers, however, it is not just the passing of the 'old days' that is lamented, but rather a perceptible change in the attitude of society towards the countryside. It is a retreat, a bucolic antidote to the pressures of urban living. It is about escapism, leisure time and 'heritage'.

What, many ask, is the future for those who actually live there? ●

The Pop revolution

It started in the American South, by the 1950s it had crossed the Atlantic – Rock 'n' Roll was here to stay...

The end of the Second World War saw the enmity between Soviet Russia and the United States plunge Europe into a 'Cold War', characterised by paranoia, intrigue and the overhanging threat of global nuclear holocaust.

As the battle-lines hardened, American money and propaganda poured into Britain. Along with NATO and Marshall Aid, television and radio opened up the world (or a version of it) to Scottish eyes as never before.

The pace and intensity of change encouraged an unprecedented questioning of established orthodoxies – even before the stunning impact of the Cuban missile crisis, the assassination of JFK and men on the moon. Unquestionably, the Post-modern age had arrived.

Amidst all this upheaval, a radically new form of culture emerged. Pop. It included poetry, art, films and fashions, but it was Pop music which stood out. Pop was the soundtrack to the times.

Drawing on music from the black community of America's deep south, Blues and Rock 'n' Roll – Pop developed a unique capacity to exhilarate listeners on mental, emotional and sexual levels.

It became a phenomenon in the States in the 1950s and quickly spread to the UK. A generation of working-class kids disaffected with wartime austerity, slums and poverty were grateful to see that, with a little money in their pockets and a contempt for established authority, they began dressing up in a smart Edwardian style. Literately, flaunting an establishment snub. The Teddy Boy was born.

Rock 'n' Roll mayhem became rife in Scotland. When US group Freddy Bell and the Bellboys played Glasgow, the concert ended in a riot with seats were torn out. The story made the front page of the Daily Record.

By the end of the 50s, despite the



electrifying impact of the new 'youth culture', there was no uniquely Scottish 'scene'. Inflexible adult ballrooms still ruled, the music was rigidly copied from America and the Teddy Boy style was essentially an English invention. Scottish acts looking for exposure still had to rattle shortbread tins and wave 'Tartan', as the BBC clung to arcane ideas about 'British culture'.

By the early 60s, the dance halls were starting to give way to smaller venues which lent themselves to the new music. But for stand out acts like the Alex Harvey Soul Band, Scotland remained a sterile environment. Harvey moved to Hamburg in 1963.

By 1964, Beatlemania had changed everything. When the Rolling Stones played Edinburgh that year, a female dominated mob pounced on their limousine with such ferocity, that one of the doors was ripped off its hinges.

One post Beatles band, Glasgow's The Poets, took their dress code from Kabuki Bards. Their music was an eclectic mix of R&B and Celtic influences. Signed to the Rolling Stones manager Andrew 'Loogie' Graham, they later fell foul of office politics in London. Meanwhile, Dean Ford and the Gaylords, the Boston Dexters and the Moonrakers also

emerged, but for most, long term success proved elusive.

One Scottish act who did achieve stardom was a young Glasgow teenager named Marie McDonald McLaughlin Lawrie, better known as Lula. She and her band, the Luvvers, were signed to Decca and the first single, 'Shout' (a song hitherto associated with Alex Harvey) was a deserved Top Ten hit.

That enduring success such as Lula's had to be won in London is

schemes was the worst in Britain.

Paradoxically, Pop music provided a high-energy soundtrack to the mayhem – and this urban despair ultimately provided the material for some superb cultural expression.

Drug use, good or ill, also became highly significant during these years.

The 1960s witnessed much Scottish potential wasted, but that was far from the whole story. The Scottish 'Folk Revival' combined tradition with innovation in a way that gave it a far-reaching influence.

Television and the Cold War made the new generation question everything – and Pop music became the exhilarating soundtrack to the times

testament to the lack of commercial support available in Scotland. London acted as a magnet for talent from across Britain, and was thus able to capitalise on its location as a staging post between the Paris and New York. In Edinburgh the Scots had a capital city in name only, lacking the requisite commercial and artistic opportunities.

As the 60s progressed, the sinister side of social change became more evident. The poverty-driven gang feuding on Glasgow's housing

This tradition influenced Scottish bred 'folk rock' acts such as Bert Jansch, The Incredible String Band and Donovan.

The following decade saw some of the finest acts to come out of Scotland, such as Gerry Rafferty's Stealer's Wheel. The Average White Band, meanwhile, made sensational albums in 1973 and 1974 and, in 'Pick Up The Pieces', made one of the most enduring funk tracks ever.

The 70s also played host to Frankie Miller, Nazareth, the

comes to Scotland



■ Left to Right: Bert Jansch, Donovan, Alex Harvey, The Bay City Rollers, Runrig, Shirley Manson from Garbage, Simple Minds, Ultravox and Primal Scream's Bobby Gillespie.

Sensational Alex Harvey Band, the Crows, Maggie Bell, an legendary Scotophile, Rod Stewart. And then, of course, there were the Bay City Rollers.

For a group who would go on to cultivate an image based on cute Tartan kitsch, it was somewhat bizarre that the Rollers should have started out under the completely antithetical name of the Saxons.

Formed in Edinburgh in the mid 60s, the Saxons were unashamedly 'safe' and amateurish. Under the influence of manager Tam Paton, they took the American-sounding name of the Bay City Rollers and cultivated an image aimed squarely at female adolescents. It worked.

From 1974-77, the Rollers had nine Top Ten hits. Two of which, 'Bye Bye Baby' and 'Give A Little Love' reached Number One. Suddenly, half mast Tartan bell bottoms and scarves tied around wrists were everywhere, as Rollermania became Britain's first post-Beatles 'teenybop' phenomenon.

The Rollers' popularity at home began to wane just as they became huge overseas. The charge that Scottish Pop was now little more than 'Celtic trash' became difficult to refute when the ubiquitous Rollers were set beside Middle of the Road, the group behind the execrable

Scottish Pop made a profound contribution to the cause for self-determination

Clear. Charpy, Cneep Cneep. But there was a broad consensus, out with the mainstream that Pop music was a product and excitement.

Like the Teddy Boys and 'Swinging London', Punk was agitated by the south of England didn't put off whose single 'I Can't Stand My Back Stabbers and J Self Abusers also emerged their success was short-lived.

After the Punk scene subsided, a distinctively Scottish crop of talented, challenging groups emerged. Glasgow's Orange Juice and Edinburgh's Josef K added to the excitement already surrounding the likes of the Skids (from whose ashes Big Country were formed) and Simple Minds, who were formed amidst the break up of the Self Abusers. 'The sound of young Scotland' was an much quoted phrase, yet groups often found more support in England than at home.

Unshaken by the lack of

supportive venues, another development in the 'Scottish scene' was the success of two noteworthy independent record labels. Postcard, whose signings included an infant Aztec Camera, and Fast Product, which broke new ground by demonstrating that Scottish labels could operate internationally.

In the early 1980s, 'Midge Ure found success with Ultravox, while Simple Minds emerged as a group of international standing. By 1985, their albums were topping the UK charts and the US Billboard charts. The band's success was a prelude to the success of the likes of the Skids (from whose ashes Big Country were formed) and Simple Minds, who were formed amidst the break up of the Self Abusers. 'The sound of young Scotland' was an much quoted phrase, yet groups often found more support in England than at home.

The 1980s 'independent' scene witnessed success with Orange Juice and Aztec Camera, who were joined

by peddlers of teenage exuberance, Altered Images and the Bluebells. Meanwhile, a Scottish white soul tradition grew thanks to Hipsway, Deacon Blue, Texas and the chirpy Wet Wet Wet.

A decade after Punk, however, the British Chart was again awash with mediocrity, supported by Radio DJs who were laughably out of touch with their audiences. But in Glasgow, the flames of dissent were already visible in bands such as Jesus and the Mary Chain and Alan McGee's Creation record label. This musical dissent fed on a palpable sense of resentment towards the unpopular Thatcher government.

The late 80s witnessed the rise of acid-house, techno and dance music, featuring thumping ostinato rhythms, samples, electronic melodies, organic production – and more conspicuous drug use.

By 1990, the Shamen, Finitribe and Primal Scream were at the leading edge of a movement in which rock and dance were intermarried. Meanwhile, raves and dance-clubs soon abounded, from the Lothians to Stornoway. Although by that time based in London, McGee's Creation would discover Manchester's Oasis in Glasgow in 1994, underlining the extent to which Glasgow had become a mecca for up-and-coming Pop acts.

The city's reputation had also grown thanks to groups such as Teenage Fanclub and Del Amitri and the resurrection of legendary venues such as the Barrowlands.

In the late 1990s, Scotland produced critically acclaimed groups including the Delgados and the successful record label, Chemical Underground, Mogwai and the stylishly naive Belle and Sebastian. The last few years have also seen the rock group Travis become a huge if somewhat bland success.

Four years after the excitement surrounding the movie *Trainspotting* demonstrated that contemporary Scottish culture could appear confident, fashionable and sexy to international youth audiences, two further Pop success stories – Shirley Manson's Garbage and Edinburgh's Idlewild – showed their attachment to Scotland by performing at the re-opening of the Scottish Parliament. ■

Farewell Scotland in

■ Leaving home: a group from Lewis head for Canada in 1927 to begin a new life. Thousands from the Highlands and Islands emigrated overseas.



It was not a taste for adventure and travel that took Scots to the world's far-flung corners. Harsh economics was the reason. The government even gave inducements to Scots to leave their homeland...

The Scots, observed G. Bisset Smith in 1909, are a notoriously migratory people. That reputation for global wandering, established in Medieval times but reaching full fruition in the exodus of almost two million Scots in the 19th century, was to be reinforced still further in the decade after the First World War.

For it was in the 1920s that more people left Scotland than were born in it, resulting in an overall population decline, the only occasion since records began when Scotland's population has declined absolutely between censuses.

While many shipped unnoticed across the Border to England, almost 500,000 went to non-European destinations, notably Canada, the United States and the Antipodes.

Who were these emigrants, and why did they emigrate? Since the

1860s the spotlight of departures had fallen increasingly on the urban Lowlands, and this trend intensified during the industrial depression of the 1920s.

The greatest shrinkage was in the heavy industries clustered around the Clyde, and the passenger lists of the great emigrant liners bear testimony to a stampede of shipyard, steel and foundry workers, coalminers and assorted artisans fleeing from the threat or the reality of unemployment.

But the postwar depression hit farmers and fishermen as well as industrial workers, and the 1920s saw an unprecedented haemorrhage of herring fishermen and ancillary workers, particularly from east coast villages like Inverallochy, which lost a third of its people to America in the 1920s.

Highlanders, too, responded to yet another downturn in the regional

economy by setting their sights westward, and in one memorable week in April, 1923, almost 600 people left the Outer Hebrides, sailing directly to Canada on liners which uplifted them from the ports of Stornoway and Lochboisdale.

But as in earlier times, economic distress was only one side of the

Equally important were the inducements offered to emigrants in the shape of assisted passage and settlement schemes, recruitment by agents, and encouragement from friends and relatives already overseas.

Uncomfortably aware that the rivets of Empire had for some time been working loose, the British government in 1922 launched the Empire Settlement Act, a remarkable initiative, given the climate of fiscal stringency, as well as a notable departure from officialdom's traditional reluctance to regulate or

exodus of millions



■ Coming home: emigration was not for everyone as this Glasgow family found in New Zealand in 1940.

assist emigrants. The government to spend up to £100,000 a year on promoting settlement in the dominions. There was particular emphasis on settlement.

At the same time, professional agents representing various destinations jostled with each other to win the business of would-be emigrants, but although the complexity of their work increased as a result of the more interventionist government approach, many agents complained that they were hampered in their recruitment campaigns by the cost-cutting measures of their governments.

At least by the 1920s agents were able to exploit new technology, not least movie film, in attracting audiences, and were able to use

motorised transport, instead of horse-drawn wagons, in their promotional tours.

The impact of the Empire Settlement Act on Scottish emigration is debatable. While 36 per cent of all emigrants to the Empire between 1921 and 1936 left the British Isles under its auspices, it is not known how many were Scots.

As for the government's role, its encouragement probably proved the key factor in stimulating migration, with government emigration schemes being more of an attraction than an essential element in planning a new life overseas.

There is also some evidence that Scots both had a distaste for the red tape involved in procuring an assisted passage and were reluctant to participate in official migration programmes for fear of falling into

debt, while those going to the USA were not eligible for government funding. At the same time, however, sheer penury brought many emigrants under the umbrella of the Act, not least those Highlanders who left the Outer Hebrides in April, 1923, as well as a significant number of disadvantaged children and unemployed juveniles who were assisted to Australia and Canada through a combination of state funding and private philanthropy.

Nor did Scots gravitate only to well-known destinations. Since 1982 mention of the Falkland Islands has conjured up images of war, but until that date the islands were probably best known for the opportunities they offered to Scottish shepherds, particularly Highlanders, who congregated there in the service of the Falkland Islands Company from

the 1850s to the early 20th century.

When the islands became overstocked with sheep, several Scots moved over to Patagonia, where they were joined by other recruits straight from Scotland in the 1920s, including a large contingent from Lewis. To this day Spanish-speaking Patagonians bear the names of their Hebridean ancestors, while the Falkland Islands' telephone directory reads like the roll call of inhabitants of a small Scottish town.

Not surprisingly, the vast outpouring of Scots to all corners of the globe remained as controversial in the 1920s as it had been in the 19th century, and the Empire Settlement Act was the subject of hot debate.

Imperialists praised it on the grounds that it could at a stroke slash British unemployment figures and relief expenditure and consolidate imperial loyalty and economic development. Socialists condemned it as an immoral and unworkable palliative for unemployment, and a means by which the government could shirk its responsibilities for state welfare provision.

Dominion commentators criticised the misleading promises of fraudulent agents, and pointed to economic and social dislocation created by an influx of unsuitable settlers who they perceived as impoverished and incompetent recruits from Britain's dole queues.

Scottish Nationalists castigated emigrants for abdicating the responsibilities of nationhood, blaming emigration on Scotland's failure to control its own affairs and the false assumption that the country was burdened with a redundant population.

As for the emigrants themselves, they continued largely in the traditions set by their Victorian predecessors, making use of state aid where appropriate, but still influenced primarily by personal persuasion, private assistance and a network of ethnic and regional contacts across the Atlantic and Antipodean worlds.

Scots, who had been building such networks since at least the 17th century, did not change their approach in the 1920s, a decade which saw the already indelible imprint of emigration penetrate even more deeply into the fabric of Scottish life. ■

Trailblazer Scotland eyes world's markets



■ Bank of Scotland, one of the country's oldest companies, is at the forefront the new telephone call centre activity to bring staff closer to customers. It can be sited anywhere in the country and a Scottish accent is helpful. There are now 28,000 call centre workers in Scotland.

As the traditional industries failed, Scotland could have faced a bleak outlook. But by innovation and adaptation, skill and doggedness, a major share of the new electronics industry has been won. Confidence has been restored

Compaq, IBM, Hewlett Packard, National Cash Registers, National Semiconductor, Sun, Motorola and Unisys are companies with two things in common. First, they are companies that have been at the forefront of the technological revolution that has changed all our lives. Personal computers, the internet, mobile phones, automated tills and cash dispensers – the technology that underpins modern business – these companies have all made vital contributions to its development.

The second thing they have in common is that all of them manufacture components or finished products in Scotland for the international market.

Many of them, such as IBM, now

have a long experience of working in Scotland and have expanded their operations. The IBM plant based at Greenock now has an annual turnover of almost £2 billion. It provides technical support to customers in 11 languages from 16 countries throughout Europe. It recently opened a sales and information call-centre that employs 500 multilingual staff.

Together the hi tech companies in Scotland produce 32 per cent of Europe's branded PCs, 80 per cent of its workstations, 65 per cent of its automated banking machines and 51 per cent of the notebook computers for the European market.

The electronics industry in Scotland employs 41,000 and a further 29,000 work in support industries. But 50 years ago, this

industry did not exist. It came into existence through the realisation by many US executives, some with Scottish roots, that Scotland was an ideal base to extend their operations into Europe. It provided the key ingredients – a skilled workforce, good communications and stable government – to attract inward investment.

Several institutions have played an important role in attracting inward investment to Scotland. In 1946 the Scottish Council Development and Industry (SCDI) was formed, combining industry, local authorities and trade unions. It was a trailblazer for attracting inward investment from the USA. But after 1975, the responsibility passed to the newly created Scottish Development Agency (SDA). The Tories rebranded

the SDA as Scottish Enterprise and inward investment became the remit of part of Scottish Enterprise known as Locate in Scotland (LIS).

The market for inward investment has become increasingly competitive. LIS has a very good record in attracting firms to Scotland, with possibly only the Irish Development Agency more successful. And the European Commission does not allow LIS to offer juicy tax concessions as Ireland does.

Further, Westminster is struggling to ensure that Scotland can offer larger inducements to inward investment than elsewhere in the UK.

A criticism of inward investment is that the jobs created in Scotland are 'screwdriver' jobs – production line jobs that do not require a great deal of skill. And firms are not prepared to train workers when they find a cheap source of labour.

However, relatively few firms have left Scotland even though the strength of the pound and the emergence of new sources of labour in Asia and Eastern Europe have eroded Scotland's competitive edge.

Aware of these criticisms, LIS has placed more emphasis on attracting high level jobs and working on the links between Scotland's universities and inward investors.

It has had some success. In June 2000, the Queen opened the new Cadence design centre in Livingston. Cadence's global headquarters has 1,900 employees at the LDC by the end of year 2004. Most of them are being recruited from the rest of Europe, not from the United States.

The electronics industry was Scotland's great manufacturing success story in the latter half of the 20th century. Output of the electronics sector more than doubled. Output growth in the rest of manufacturing was just 6 per cent.

If electronics is the heart of the Scottish economy, the rest of manufacturing – Scotland's traditional industry – is the liver.

Beset by problems for decades,



■ Donald Dewar as the Scottish Secretary in 1997 with Mr Michael Bealmeir, of the American Cadence Design Systems, announces a further 1,900 high-tech jobs are bound for Livingston, West Lothian.

these traditional industries have succumbed to international competition.

The steel industry has all but disappeared. The closure of the Ravenscraig steel mill in 1993 signalled the end. The desire by British Steel to concentrate production in South Wales because of the high costs of the Ravenscraig plant was the final blow to an industry that had suffered for decades.

The Glengarnock Mill and the Carron Iron Works – famous in times past for the lethal 'carronade' – closed during the 1970s. The industry was too dispersed, badly sited and lacked investment. It could not compete with the huge coastal sites for steel production that were built in the Far East.

It was not even competitive when supplying steel for the North Sea oil industry – a market that it should have dominated given the high costs of transporting steel.

Steel is a vital ingredient to another of Scotland's traditional

industries – shipbuilding. High-cost steel and low productivity put this industry at a disadvantage when the shipping market became a global concern. The Far East captured the market for large ships such as oil tankers, sometimes tendering for such vessels at a lower cost than Scottish shipbuilders could buy the steel.

As a result, shipbuilding dwindled away and would probably have all but disappeared were it not for the naval orders which the government has been reluctant to place abroad.

A related industry – oil platform production – prospered during the 80s and '90s. It was sited in the North East of Scotland to service the North Sea oil industry. Many workers moved from Clydeside to play a part in this new industry. But it, too, collapsed because as time went by fewer new fields were discovered and technology developed to allow the oil companies to make more effective use of existing platforms and to use smaller subsea modules to exploit new, smaller discoveries.

The last of the traditional industries – coal – has also virtually vanished. The writing was on the wall after the disastrous miners' strike of 1984.

Privatised power companies demanded to be allowed to buy their coal from anywhere. Deep-mined

British coal could not compete against the low-cost surface deposits that were abundant in countries like Australia. The power companies also had environmental constraints to meet. Coal is a dirty fuel when compared to alternatives such as natural gas and the power companies realised that the huge North Sea reserves of natural gas could provide them with cheap, clean fuel.

This resulted in the 'dash for gas' – the power companies built new low cost power stations that burned natural gas, not coal.

In Scotland, the only remaining deep mine is at Longannet – directly servicing the on-site power station that along with the nuclear plants at Hunterston and Torness supply the bulk of Scotland's power requirements.

New low cost open-cast mines have been opened, often against stiff local and environmental opposition, but their production and employment levels are small compared to the huge coal industry that existed in the past.

Constant change might have been the theme for the Scottish economy towards the end of the last century.

In 1950 the Scottish coal-mining industry employed 779,000 workers. Only a handful now work in any form of mining.

In contrast, the financial and business services sector now employs

Westminster still holds the ring to ensure Scotland does not offer larger inducements than are available in other areas of Britain

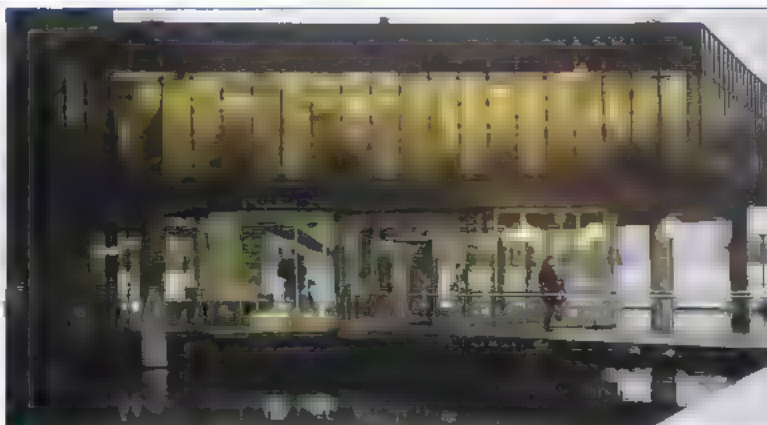
► 280,000 people out of a total Scottish workforce of 2.1 million.

Financial services has been built on the success of the two Scottish banks that have retained their independence: Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank of Scotland. In the insurance industry, particularly in offshore activity, success has also been achieved.

A third sector, international standards, has seen Scottish companies become aggressive players in the global takeover battles. An example is the successful takeover by the Royal Bank of the much larger National Westminster Bank, one of the London-based clearing banks.

The Scottish life insurance industry has massive funds to invest on behalf of its policyholders. These funds provide lump sums when policies mature and also private pensions. As a result, Scotland is now the fourth largest European financial centre after London, Paris and Frankfurt measured in terms of international funds under management.

Concentrated on Edinburgh, the financial and business services



■ Life insurance companies like the Scottish Widows company pictured in Edinburgh are able to invest massive sums on behalf of policyholders.

industry has been able to take advantage of the quality of life offered by a Scottish location and the skilled workforce. Together with good communications and low cost, Scotland has become increasingly attractive even to those companies without Scottish connections.

Part of the expansion of financial services has been in another wholly new kind of economic activity - call centres. As the branch network of retail banking has declined, so the

provision of services to customers via the telephone has increased. And call centres are used for much more than banking - all kinds of firms see them as a way of maintaining strong links with their customers.

It has already been seen that IBM is serving the whole of Europe from a Greenock call centre. Scotland has been at the forefront of this new industry. One of the great advantages of a Scottish location is the Scottish accent - provided, they

are not too strong. Scottish accents are widely acceptable throughout the UK. There are now 28,000 call-centre workers in Scotland. And because the only necessary equipment is a telephone, they can be spread far and wide.

Call Centre, Europe's largest computer services company has established centres in Forres, Nairn, Dingwall and Inverness. BT

Communications Services, call centres in Aberdeen and Glasgow.

Sir Ian Vallance, head of BT, said: "I believe the new technology is going to repopulate the Highlands and other parts of rural Scotland."

Technological advances transformed the Scottish economy in the last 50 years. No doubt the next 50 will bring even more change.

The old industries for which Scotland was renowned have virtually disappeared and new ones have emerged. Scotland is very much on the edge of the European economy. But if it continues to adapt and innovate, there is no reason to be pessimistic about its future prospects. ●

THE GOLDEN NECTAR DELIVERS £2BN A YEAR

Once the word 'Scotch' was an adjective meaning Scottish. Now it's a noun, known all over the world, and means the whisky distilled and matured only in Scotland, and it carries the fiercely protected stamp of authenticity and quality.

Not only is Scotch whisky an icon of Scotland's identity, but it's also a major national industry with a big part to play in the economy and in rural employment.

First, let's consider what Scotch means to the nation's finances today. Around 3,000 million litres of the spirit are held in maturing warehouses and in hand, enough to meet nine years' demand. Exports to around 200 countries account for 90 per cent of Scotch sales, £2 billion a year, which puts the industry in the Top Five of Britain's overseas

earners. And in the country of its birth, Scotch generates 60,000 jobs with a significant number in country districts.

Throughout its history, Scotch whisky has been a boon to rural life.

The technique of distilling is thought to have originated in the Middle East, used to produce perfumes. But the Scots (and the Irish) put it to another use, making powerful spirits for drinking, which stimulated barley-growing - for the ingredients of pure malt whisky are nothing more than barley, water and yeast.

So in the early days of whisky, before the days of heavy taxation, making whisky was a profitable way for a Scots farmer to use up surplus barley.

The first official mention of Scotch came in the Exchequer Rolls of 1494, noting: "Eight bolls of malt to

Friar John Cor wherewith to make aquavite". So the monks, bless them, were in early.

Aquavite and uisge beatha (Anglicised to 'whisky') mean the same thing: the 'water of life'. But the word 'malt' needs some explaining.

At the distillery, barley is steeped in water, drained, then left to produce a sprout until the process is stopped by drying in a kiln.

The grains are then called 'malt' and after being ground into a flour are again steeped in very hot water and the mix eventually fermented with yeast. The liquor drained off from this is heated in stills, batch by batch, and a proportion of the steam condensed back into liquid at this stage, goes into oak barrels for maturing.

This, obviously, is a pretty terse summary of a procedure which calls for a whole range

of traditional skills by workers living in some of Scotland's most beautiful countryside.

For pure, local water is the ingredient which helps create the distinctiveness of Scotland's 80-plus malt whiskies still in production. Once, they numbered in their hundreds. Blended whisky, of course, is a mix of many malts and the cheaper, industrially-produced grain whisky.

But as the less-expensive blends account for 95 per cent of Scotch world sales, they should not be decried.

In 1644, the Scots Parliament set a whisky duty at today's equivalent of 14 pence on one-third of a gallon. Since then, of course, duty on whisky has increased dramatically.

But Scotch struggles on to maintain its prestige as something very special that only Scotland can deliver.

Scotland's heritage is wealth of the nation



■ Linlithgow Palace was home to Scottish royalty but visitors are also attracted by other activities like this bird handler with an owl.

Striking a balance between history and the promotion of it is not always easy. Sometimes it goes out of kilter and historical fact is the loser. History is not commercial, heritage may be. The truth lies with historical experts

Heritage and history form an uneasy alliance. There is the argument that heritage has brought history alive and made it popular and accessible. Others accuse heritage of tarnishing history's good name. One recent commentator described the basic tension like this: "If historians despise heritage fakery, heritage disdains historians' truth fetishes."

So what exactly is heritage? Some forms of heritage appear to operate in the name of conservation and education. This is often termed 'patrimoine' and refers to a sense of how we protect our cultural inheritance.

One might argue that such heritage occupies the moral high ground. It is seen as being historically accurate, authentic and ethical in its treatment of history.

Other forms of heritage attraction

appear to operate with different values. The heritage industry is seen to package the past into easily digestible formats which we can buy into and is known as 'commodification'. Emphasis is given to fun, sensations and competitive advantage — our site has 'the oldest buildings', 'the newest technologies' or 'the best claim' on historical figures such as kings, poets, outlaws, inventors or even the people.

In this second type of heritage, there is often less concern over what is authentic in any accurate historical sense and greater emphasis is given to what is attractively authentic.

The problem is that some heritage sites go too far and operate more as commercial centres with bogus history tacked on. When an attraction appears to be more about shopping and eating than engaging with history then we should be

concerned, because it cheapens both history and what can be constructively done in the name of heritage today.

The growth of heritage has led to a highly competitive market and some of our most celebrated historical sites have had to improve their marketability in order to survive as attractions.

Most heritage attractions are therefore a combination of both patrimoine and commodification. They aim to attract visitors from many backgrounds and persuasions and therefore they need to get the balance right between fact and entertainment.

Our everyday view of heritage is deeply entwined with our sense of the past as well as with our current consumer needs.

That is, choice and good value are important but so, too, are the desires to be entertained, to be ▶

Heritage can reanimate the sleeping past, but sometimes our tastes and desires change

► educated and to enhance our sense of self

This point is important. Heritage encourages visitors to develop their sense of identity. This might be a confirmation of national identity by visiting Bannockburn or understanding Scotland's Pictish heritage through a visit to Pictavia in Brechin. Alternatively, it might be the chance to examine gender, ethnicity or professional standing. The experiences of men and women of the past are offered to us from different angles, such as at Cromarty's Courthouse or Peterhead's maritime museum.

Examples of heritage attractions such as these invite reflection and comparison with our lives today. We might reflect on our age at museums of childhood, or on our class as we tour stately homes, castles or a tenement house. We examine our claims to be country folk or city dwellers as we move between rural sites and urban attractions.

The choices are vast and the heritage and tourism industries work hard at expanding the choice and stimulating our desires. But heritage attractions have to work within financial limits. Certain history may be very good for us to know, but if it fails to excite our imaginations and interests, then we as consumers will not be attracted to it.

The idea that heritage represents a shared inheritance is debatable, however. The shared cultural heritage of England is assumed to be white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, for example, has been rightly challenged. Similarly, the cultural heritage of Scotland has been accused, amongst other things, of being too masculine and too 'tartanified'.

In both cases, historians and others have sought to redress this imbalance. Heritage is also often guilty of suppressing the history of certain groups. Historical realities are often ignored or improved upon for the sake of a more palatable or marketable story. But then history itself is often accused of much the same thing.

On the plus side, the shift within



■ The smiddy shop at New Lanark Heritage Centre incongruously sells strange hi-fi speakers with other oddities.

the heritage industry to a more dramatic representation has implications for how we view the past. Heritage succeeds largely because it is 'more real than real'.

Much heritage is seen as better than the original because it selectively presents to us the most familiar and most expected imaginings of past times and relations. Heritage has been enhanced further by the trend towards witnessing the past through interactive time travel devices such as those found at New Lanark.

Wandering around Alford's heritage centre for North East rural life or Dundee's Verdant Works jute mill, for example, and we see how consumers are encouraged to touch, feel, smell and taste the past.

The sensual and sensational nature of the newer style of heritage attractions have drawn both praise and fire. Critics argue that too much emphasis on costumes, fake smells and hyped story telling can trivialise history.

Others suggest that these aspects keep the general public and

others interested in the past. They argue that heritage is a necessary part of our lives and that it is a way of connecting with the past.

Others have argued that heritage is a way of creating a new identity for the past. They argue that heritage is a way of creating a new identity for the past.

Perhaps one of the more controversial aspects of heritage is that in its search to present the extraordinary from the ordinary, heritage developers and managers seek to create heritage out of almost anything. We now recognise that almost any site, event, artefact or historical figure is fair play for the heritage treatment such as Biggar's old gas works or Bonawe's iron furnace near Tain.

But not all industrial heritage is viewed as worthy enough of saving for current consumption. Recent attention on the failure to secure enough funds to save the world's oldest clipper, the Carrick, or the stop-gap measures to keep the Scottish Mining Museum open are just two cases in point.

Heritage is an active process

which the sleeping past is excavated and reanimated for present-day consumption. But our tastes and desires change over time. We often prefer to see the past in ways which appeal to our current values.

The recent reconstruction of the Great Hall at Stirling Castle has been criticised by some observers for being 'too real'. Historic Scotland's decision to reproduce an authentic yellow limewash known as 'King's Gold' on the walls has meant that, in their view, the hall now stands gaudily apart from the aged lichen-stones of the historic castle. The meticulous research and enhancement of the building to its authentic glories has actually been too good. Irony indeed.

There are clearly many examples whereby heritage has made a particular effort to stay true to history and yet sometimes there is a need to rearrange time and space in order to tell a better story. Real buildings or artefacts are moved from their original setting and relocated elsewhere (such as Biggar's

■ **The Whisky Heritage Centre on Edinburgh's Royal Mile attempts to re-create the past for visiting tourists.**

Greenhill Covenanter's House) but this constructs a new past which can be meaningfully interpreted by both lay person and expert alike.

The Scottish Railway Preservation Society, which operates the Bo'ness & Kinneil Railway, has had to recreate an 'attractively authentic' railway setting by obtaining and erecting traditional buildings in other settings. "The station was originally at Wormalston, a mile from Haymarket, and the box from Gartcay Junction and the 'Gartcay' signal box from Murthly."

Heritage is, like history, created by experts and advisers: guides, journalists and academics.

And whilst our experience of heritage attractions is often personal it is expertly managed. It stimulates us to re-examine the past means to us. The question of how authentic or how accurate any representation is therefore, not so



intellectual pride or of differences in academic opinion.

The concerns over how heritage is presented to society at large are critically important to us in our current climate of forging a 'new Scotland'. Our relationship with heritage matters. Debate is therefore healthy and provokes both consumers and providers alike to examine what they derive from

heritage and why. History is not a commercial activity but heritage is.

The demands of the heritage industry are not necessarily to present the 'real authentic' but to present the spectacle and sensation of the authentic. This is what heritage as industry does.

Efforts need to be made to stay financially viable and the bottom line rests with visitor numbers and

public support. Heritage can encourage further learning and a thirst for a deeper knowledge. This is perhaps where the supporting literature, promotional material and merchandise all come into their own.

These resources spur us on to be interested and entertained by the past. Although we will hopefully develop a critical nostalgia and not accept all heritage at face value.

It has been pointed out that heritage is more than just country houses and statues, it is the memory and passions which are passed down from one generation to the next and it is the ordinary folk who should decide 'whether they want to cherish it, sell it or wipe their boots on it'.

It is the nation, the people who live in Scotland, who must comment on what constitutes heritage. Our past traditions, events and cultures are assumed to be our inheritance and our 'inalienable wealth', but we must take proper responsibility for it.

Staying interested and debating over just exactly what we mean by our history and heritage is perhaps the one thing we should try to harness to ensure that we in Scotland keep this wealth. ■

Re-creators of history

The Clanranald Trust is a group of individuals dedicated to reviving Scottish culture and heritage.

It aims to present a true recreation of the past, striving to provide a fitting testimony to Scotland's ancestry. The Trust operates various activities such as:

- Undertaking unique historical guided tours with ambush scenarios.
- Carrying out light displays in period dress for the public and the community.
- Supplying entertainment to corporate organisations.
- Visiting schools and recreating history, integrated within the existing curriculum.
- Providing film extras and close-combat fight choreography to the film and TV industry.
- Supplying weapons and

armour, plaids, period costumes, accessories, music, books, arts-and-crafts and weapon stands for room dressing.

- Providing guards of honour, torchlight processions and pipers.

The Trust's most ambitious undertaking to date will be to replicate a Motte & Bailey Fortress typical of the Scottish Chiefs' residences during the Medieval period.

The purpose of the settlement is to create the atmosphere of an authentic Medieval working community, where schools, groups and individuals gain an impression of the everyday life of Scotland's ancestors.

Construction is expected to commence in the spring of 2001.



A view between battle lines



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Ochan, Gaelic still receives a raw deal



■ Gaelic presenter Rhoda MacLeod has a keen pupil in little Angus McAuley, of Thornwood Primary School, in STV's *Speaking Our Language*.

There are now around 60,000 Gaelic speakers left in Scotland – they would just about fill Hampden Park, or could be placed, upstairs and downstairs, in their entirety on about 700 Glasgow buses, or could be packed every last Gaelic speaker in Scotland – on to a couple of hundred underground trains. Whoosh! Away you go past Kelvinbridge, Hillhead, Govan Cross, into oblivion.

On the other hand, if you stood them all one by one, shoulder to shoulder (giving each of them a space of 24 inches) they would stretch for 25 miles, say all the way from Edinburgh to Dunbar, or from Inverness to Aviemore. It would be standing-room-only in Skye, where 60,000 would jam pack the road

A personal plea to give the original language of Scotland a fair chance of recovery. Signs are encouraging, but more must be done. The Scottish Parliament is where decisions can be made

between Portree and the infamous toll bridge. And if they all tried to get a cup of tea in someone's house, they would have to queue for days, if not weeks.

There would no doubt be a welcome, if insufficient room, in the inn. In other words, it's all relative and statistics can be made to prove anything. After all, did not the mouse, which squashed the ant, believe itself to be an elephant until it met up with a large cat?

So – with 60,000 Gaelic speakers left – is Gaelic a living or a dying language? Maybe that's as daft as

asking whether you or I are living or dying – are we not simultaneously, moment by moment, living and dying? A live, of course, but the death of each and every one of us is inevitable as the next breath. It does not diminish our desire to live. So, is the Gaelic language, in its various forms, simultaneously living and dying? What is relevant, and up for argument, are the reasons for the language's growth and decline, the political, economic, social, cultural and linguistic causes that have seen

the once speaking population of Scotland decline from an all-time high about 1,000 years ago when 90 per cent of Scotland was Gaelic speaking to its position now, where just over 1 per cent of the population speak the language.

Dr John MacInnes, formerly of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, has long laid the blame at the feet of Queen Margaret (later St Margaret) of Alba who, on her marriage to Malcolm Canmore ('ceann mùr' meaning 'big head') in 1070, proceeded to simultaneously Anglicise the court



and reform t...
Be that as it may, ther...
that since then that is...
1,000 years the Ga...
has been a...
retreat. What was the...
of the kings and nobles at
Edinburgh (and elsewhere) rapidly
became the an... of the poorest
peasantry.

By the 18th and 19th centuries,
the aristocracies of Scotland
including the great Highland chiefs,
had comp...
themselves fr...
basically cons...
history as
relevance or...

When Dr S...
famously w...
were clan chiefs, now there a
landlords", he was t...
economics, but h...

Culloden and the Clearances did
not just mean the...
system. It also crea...
reasonab...
Gaelic.

What was once a noble far...
became associated with cow...
the bleating of sheep. A
minded Victorian Scot, leaping out
of the Enlightenment int... the Gre...
British Empire, with all its u...
progress (didn't they have trams an...
trains in Glasgow? And indoor toilets
in some parts of Edinburgh?), could
for a moment contemplate
retreating into the smelly stable...
Gaelic, unless armed with a well

perfumed kilt at an occasional dram-
titled ceilidh.

Economic 'progress' and 'education',
in other words, were the twin forces
which led the main assault on
Gaelic. Urbanisation and the
Industrial Revolution, tied in with
the Clearances, meant that hundreds
of thousands of Gaelic speaking
Highlanders left the glens for the
cem... of Partick and Govan.

They naturally kept their native
language for a generation or three,
but mere force of numbers would
ensure that it could not last forever.

Not that the British State left it to
mere force of numbers. When so-
called universal education became
law, primarily with the Education
Act of 1872, Gaelic was not
mentioned at all.

Henceforth, all education was to
be entirely through the medium of
English, ensuring that all Gaelic
speakers would now be institutionally
and methodically educated out of
their native language and culture. It
was like stripping the half-dead

Looking back at it from the
beginning of the 21st century, what
mildly surprises is the degree of

political complicity to this linguistic
and cultural rape. Several cultural
voices were raised against the assault
on the language but, by and large,
political opposition was fragmented,
or non-existent.

The left especially (where you
might have hoped for protest), was
notable for its silence. Indeed, the
journalist Martin MacDonald has
pointed out that, for instance, the
great Clydeside martyr, Red John
MacLean, even though he was of
Gaelic-speaking parentage (from
Mull), completely disregarded the
Gaelic-language issue. For a Marxist
engaged in the great class war, it was
way way down the list of
revolutionary priorities.

The same was true, by and large,
for all the other political oligarchies.
Indeed the Minister of State at the
Scottish Office, the Highland MP
Brian Wilson, confessed that in 1976
he (single handedly) wrote (on the
very same Martin MacDonald's old
typewriter) the draft policy
document that was to become the
basis of what is now Government
policy towards Gaelic - for what it's
worth. In other words, until recent

times the Gaelic language, even
though it was the victim of official
state aggression (e.g. successive
Education Acts) was almost entirely
left to the passion of certain
individuals for its salvation.

For the bulk of its life (unlike
English), Gaelic has had no official
support, no official recognition, no
legal recognition.

Even the Labour and Lib-Dem
majority in the Scottish Parliament
('oor ain wee Parliament') have been
scandalously holding back on passing
a law that would at long last give
Legal Status to Gaelic.

And the same Parliament rejected
a bid to make Gaelic medium
education much more widely
available throughout Scotland.
Shame on them, in the name of
liberty and justice and democracy!
Double shame on them in the name
of history.

What are they afraid of? That
Scotland will be over run by the
horde of 60,000? That the 60,000
will rise to 70,000? That it will cost
too much? Perhaps as much as the
New Parliament Building itself?

What has undoubtedly happened
in the past decade or two, however,
has been a growth in public and
private confidence about the
language.

No longer is it associated with
muck and byres and smelly
wellingtons. Rather, the very
opposite. Because, at last, some
public funding has gone into the
language - notably into television -
it is now reasonably 'hip' to speak
Gaelic. Cool Britannia is also a bit of
Cool Benbecula, with all its
attendant dangers.

More people are learning the
language. The Crùileagan (pri... school)
movement has borne much fruit. In
some areas (notably Highland
Region) there are percentage rises in
the number of Gaelic-speakers in that
most critical of groups, aged 5-14.

But only in certain areas. The
traditional heartland, the Western
Isles, is still in terminal decline,
thanks to a useless policy that
permits two-thirds of all Western
Isles youngsters to go to English
medium schools.

That must be reversed. Locally
and nationally. Structurally and
institutionally, as well as at the
hearth.

Otherwise, the 60,000 will go on
reducing. Until one day the 60,000
can be accommodated on the top
deck of a single bus, or in someone's
living room.

When that happens, remember
who drove the bus into the dead
end. Or, to put it another way
where were you in the diminishing,
or extending, queue? Eh? Mr MSP? ●

**Progress in the economy and
education were twin forces
that led the assault on a rich
and musical language**

The Scots tongue is no deid yet - is aye clackin

■ Folk-group the Corries – key players in the 'folk revival' – entertained audiences up and down the country with traditional Scots music and song



There are those who have already written off the Scots tongue. They are wrong. It is all around. Maybe it is more cosmopolitan and fluid than before - but that lends it diversity

The guid Scots tongue is both loved and hated by many who know little about it. The idea that it has died out or is all but dead is easily shown to be not just an exaggeration but a complete lie.

Walk down any street with your ears open and you can hear it all around you. Explore any community and you will find it spoken in countless places by frustrated poets and writers who have been marginalised by the publishing world and responded to as a language of the fringe by the people who perceive it as such.

Many regard it as a relic of the past, which according to some

thinking means it is obsolete. But this faulty attitude, that does not value heritage or ancestral wisdom handed down to us, damages our ability to realise our full potential.

You have to realise how language works. A living language does not stay the same for ever. It changes from time to time and from place to place. You cannot put the clock back, nor can you pass a law or wave a magic wand to make it what you think it should be. The people who control language are the people who use it.

The Scots tongue has a long history from the 5th century and grew out of the Germanic language of the Angles, the tribe who

established the kingdom of Northumbria which stretched right up to the River Forth. It was first called English or Inglis long before the independent countries of Scotland and England existed on either side of a border.

Inglis was related to the language of the Saxons, the tribe who settled further south, which is why Scots and English, as well as German and Dutch, all have common roots and have influenced one another, since they belong to the same family of languages.

Scots also shares vocabulary not only with English, but also with the Scandinavian languages, German and Dutch. Danes live in a 'hus' and a

■ The writer and broadcaster Billy Kay has done much in recent times to promote the use of Scots language.



to the 'kirke'. The German poet Goethe when he was dying called for 'Mehr Licht'. In a Dutch railway station you see a sign that says 'Uitgang' and television adverts exhort you to 'bel nu' when there is a phone number given.

It is important to look at Scots in this historical context. It is sometimes erroneously spoken of as 'a dialect' or 'corrupt English' or even 'a kind of slang' by people who do not know its history.

Scots has produced at least seven centuries of literature, including novels, plays, ballads, epic and lyrical poetry that are admired worldwide and in some cases translated into many languages.

It has been used by a royal court and to enshrine law and administer government and to preach the gospel.

It has marked the identity of a people who fought for their independence and won. The 15th-century Makar Gavin Douglas translated Virgil's Aeneid into his 'owyn language', meaning Scots.

It has been the vehicle of conversation at every level of society and has not just one dialect but nine,

It is heard daily in the Scottish Parliament and raising its status also reinforces a sense of identity

according to the lexicographers. None of this can be regarded as either slang or dialect or any kind of corrupt language.

Nowadays, it is used or understood by the majority of Scots (two-thirds, according to a recent survey) and also by writers, but remains invisible, or inaudible, to those who have a political vested interest in its demise.

The mind-boggling fact they ignore is that 300 years of neglect and ignorance have not succeeded in killing it off. Despite numerous body blows, like the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the Education Act of 1872, the virtual exclusion of Scots from publishing, it still walks and talks.

There has never been a time when only one language has been spoken in Scotland.

That is what makes our culture so rich and diverse. Of course, nowadays, within Scotland, old

dialect areas have become more fluid as society is more mobile and also more cosmopolitan than before. In present-day Scotland there are several languages to be respected, but Scots has to be one of them.

Think of the effect on generations of Scots who have gone to school to be told that the language they speak in their homes is 'wrong', 'low class' and 'inferior'.

As well as this brain-washing, reinforced by the tawse, there is the fact that, in living memory, so little Scots literature and history has been taught that many people don't know their culture.

This is Scotland, yet Scots can be penalised for using their own language. Of course, some speak it badly, just as some English people speak English badly. The answer to this is to make good Scots part of our education. What makes Scots distinctive? Many influences have shaped it. Gaelic has been one of the

strongest, affecting places names, surnames, vocabulary and usage.

Loch, ben, glen, strath and carse, prefixes like aber, and inver, clan names prefaced with Mac, words like blether, glaikit, ransack and galore all derive from Gaelic.

The Norse influence has been strong on both Scots and Gaelic. Names of people and places again illustrate this, such as Wick, Lerwick, Berwick and Dingwall and even some clan names.

Trade during the time of the early Stewarts and political relationships with several other European countries, notably France, has brought countless Continental ideas, words and habits to Scotland. Many words thought of as particularly Scottish, like 'douce', 'jalouse' and 'tassie' come from French.

It is not just pronunciation and vocabulary that make a language. Distinctive Scots grammar and usage demand a whole book to describe them fully. There is also a particular recognisable music in every tongue, made up of cadences, intonations and speech rhythms.

A language's own speech patterns are reflected in its characteristic tunes and melodies. That is why tunes can be recognised as Scottish, Irish, English or whatever with the consequent appeal to inner feelings.

Thus it was that Robert Burns found, when asked to put English words to Scottish tunes for George Thomson for his collection of Select Airs, that only Scottish words would do and anything else sounded inappropriate.

In the last century, there was a Poetry Renaissance and a Folksong Revival, whose effects are still in evidence. Towards the millennium Scots writers were winning literary awards south of the Border. There is now talk of setting up a National Theatre in Scotland. A thriving literary and musical arts scene is not a sign of a dying language.

Today Scots is widely spoken, by people in every walk of life. Teachers are welcoming it into the classroom, with the help of new teaching resources, which try to bridge the gaps in their knowledge and experience. It is being studied in training colleges and universities.

In the Scots Parliament its cadences and rhythms can be heard in everyday proceedings. Confidence is growing slowly as political prejudice wanes with the realisation that raising the status of Scots will actually improve the quality of life in our country by giving it a new sense of identity and destiny. ●

Scotland is the star in films of Scotland



Biker historian David Ross looks behind some well known Scottish films to find joy in their wondrous and varied locations

I've always loved Scottish-based films. 'Whisky Galore' and its follow-up 'Rockets Galore', Tranter's novel, 'Bridal Path', became a film that had its premier in Scotland. I especially liked the Highlander in the lead role, who, although lost, refused to admit that any Highlander could be lost anywhere in the country that lay north of Loch Lomond.

'The Maggie', a story of a puffer – very much in the 'Para Handy' mould – was an absolute delight. I enjoyed seeing the boat stuck on the roof of the Glasgow Underground underneath the suspension bridge over the Clyde in the city centre.

These films all have a similar streak. They all have a particularly Scottish gentle humour. This humour has continued on in our films up to recent times.

It was apparent in 'Gregory's Girl'. I have often seen it erroneously stated that Gregory's Girl was filmed in East Kilbride, when it was actually Cumbernauld. One memorable scene was John Gordon Sinclair waiting for Dee Hepburn, where he was obviously being stood up, and he just happened to be standing in front of a huge clock. This clock is mounted on the wall of the shopping centre in Cumbernauld.

Bill Forsyth, director of 'Gregory's Girl', went on to make 'Local Hero', another film with a very Scottish flavour of tongue firmly-in-cheek humour. The beach scenes were filmed on the famous silver sands to the south of Mallaig at Morar. The beaches here are fantastic – if only we had Mediterranean sun to go with them!

The village scenes were filmed at the other side of Scotland at Pennan, a picturesque little fishing port close to the boundary of Aberdeenshire and Banff. The village phone box, which figures so prominently in the film, is a magnet for visitors taking photographs.

More recently there have been Hollywood-made blockbusters such as 'Rob Roy', starring Liam Neeson. From the first scenes, the splendid scenery of Scotland is evident, the opening shots taken above Loch Leven to the north of Glencoe.

Rob Roy's adversary, the Marquis of Montrose, played by John Hurt, lives in remarkable splendour. Drummond Castle near Crieff was used for these



■ Actor Mel Gibson, star of 'Braveheart', surveys the Glen Nevis scene.

shots. Although the castle itself is a private home, the landscaped gardens are open to the public at certain times.

The biggest film ever made with a Scottish theme has to be 'Braveheart', starring Mel Gibson as William Wallace.

People did take exception to an Australian playing Scotland's great hero, but he is an actor after all, his job being to play whatever role comes forward. For instance, Ben Kingsley played Gandhi, but I don't recall hearing a great outcry about that. Perhaps Wallace is a bit too close to the soul of many Scots.

The opening shots for 'Braveheart' were filmed in Glen Nevis, running inland from Fort William. The famous mountain top scene was filmed on the summit of Aonach Mor, close to Ben Nevis in the Mamore mountain range.

The battle scenes were recorded in Ireland which caused no end of controversy. The facts behind this are very simple. Scotland, having no control over its monetary affairs, was not able to offer better costs for the production crew, while Ireland, with its booming independent economy was able to put together an attractive package for the film makers – also offering the services of the Irish Territorial Army to work as extras in the battle scenes.

It was an opportunity missed for Scotland. I can state the fact that all the close battles shots were done by Scots, however, showing a martial throwback inherent since Medieval times! While on

the subject of Mel Gibson, his film

'Hamlet' was shot in Scotland.

Dunnottar Castle, just south of Stonehaven, provided the backdrop for that particular film.

'Highlander', in my view a classic film, released in 1989 and starring Christopher Lambert and Sean Connery, featured Glencoe in the battle scene. Glencoe was also the site of Connor's tower, with the Three Sisters mountains prominent in the background.

Eilean Donan Castle figures prominently. Eilean Donan stands facing Loch Duich, by the village of Dornie in Ross-shire, and is open to the public Easter to October. The Cuillin mountains of Skye also feature with one sword fight taking place on the famous Cioch, a curious jutting rock on a shoulder of Sgurr Alisdair. Skye was also the setting for the film 'Dragonslayer', a Disney product, the primeval landscape ideally suited for such a title.

And while on the subject of Disney, who can forget 'Greyfriars Bobby', a film unfortunately unavailable on video. The Grassmarket in Edinburgh features, as does Edinburgh Castle and, of course, Greyfriars Church itself.

Just opposite the churchyard gates is the statue to Bobby and I can recall seeing Walt Disney's signature on a wall of the pub of the same name which stands next door. ●

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